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736 inept when compared to the shamanism of even such marginal areas as
158 California. In other words, despite local theory, I observed nothing that impressed me as real possessionalism.*

158 There were also in Atimelang certain individuals who had attacks of
787 hyperactivity. One of these was mentioned in connection with obscen-
828 ity on page 157. Another case was of a woman who began shouting and joking in a loud and apparently compulsive fashion and sometimes accompanied her conversation with a rhythmic jumping up and down. On occasions of this sort people said that their familiars had risen within them (*betimang homin mirang*). This is the same phrase used in con-
[522] nection with seers. Such attacks usually provoke a good deal of amusement among younger people, but older ones are inclined to discourage any teasing or response that might prolong the attack.

158 Again from observation the attacks of hyperexcitability in these two women in no way suggested trance conditions. Accounts of people considered insane, which will be discussed later, gave no indication that they were in trance states. In other words, I very much doubt that deep trances occur except as rare individual aberrations. They are certainly not induced deliberately nor are they culturally prized. It is quite pos-
828 sible that real trances would be associated with the type of "death" that
763 was thought to occur in delirium and coma, and such an association may
756 have helped to check the introduction of such trances from other cul-
273 tures. If such is the case, it would also serve to cut down the impressiveness, and therefore the potential power, of seers. Lastly, the danger of losing one's normal personality would seem to offer a possible explanation for the lack of interest shown by Atimelangers in intoxicants. The use of palm wine is known among the coastal peoples, and the requisite palm grows in the mountains; but the mountain peoples do not use it, or even indulge in palm wine during protracted visits to the coast.

158 It is also interesting that one case of possible suicide, a person who
787 was obviously insane, revolved around this same theme of spirit posses-
828 sion and premature burial. I quote a detailed account for the light it throws on the subject.

The narration referred to an event that occurred about fifteen years ago and began with Fanseni's accidentally offending an evil spirit who lived near his maize field. Some two months later, when the maize was being carried back to his house for storage, signs of abnormality were first noted. Fanseni complained of a violent headache and refused to eat,

* A detailed study of the trance was not made. It is possible, of course, that seers were in a subtrance. By this I mean that conscious control is not lost, but that an emotional condition exists in which the person deliberately shuts out many external stimuli.

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although he gave his kinsmen a pig in payment for their help and as a final harvest feast. The next day he stayed in his house, and when his young nephews returned, among whom was Rilpada, he spoke to them in a garble of Malay and Abui, saying, "Respects, gentlemen; my children, come up. Are you happy or not? If you are happy, you may smoke up this whole tube of tobacco."

That night several male kin stayed to watch over him. In the course of the night Rilpada noticed that Fanseni in his sleep had taken off his loincloth and defecated. As Rilpada drew his father's attention to the act Fanseni awoke and shouted belligerently, "Who defecated? Ung! Who defecated? I deny these feces. Let us fight." Those present were badly frightened and shouted to the near-by villagers, "Don't be afraid. An evil spirit has risen in Fanseni, but do not be afraid." At this point two men came to lend the watchers assistance. As they approached they tried to frighten Fanseni by shooting arrows at the outer house wall but succeeded only in making him deny noisily that he was afraid. When the two men finally appeared in the doorway, they aimed an arrow directly at him. Fanseni at this point picked up a piece of firewood, held it against his crotch, then broke it in two, saying, "This is my penis. Give it to your children to eat. Perhaps they are crying of hunger." He then scattered the coals from the hearth about the room. Everyone was now assured that only an evil spirit was capable of such behavior, so Fanseni was securely lashed and left in the house. The others went below to spend the rest of the night. Fanseni slept but was aroused by Rilpada, who threw a stone at the house wall to tease him. Fanseni shouted that he knew Rilpada was guilty of the act—a fact, incidentally, that Rilpada brazenly denied. At this point Fanseni managed to burn through his lashings, so that he had to be bound more securely than ever.

In the morning as the others were roasting cassava, Fanseni pulled himself to the doorway and watched them. When asked if he were hungry he nodded his head in the affirmative. There was some debate about untying him to let him eat. The opposition said there was no use feeding an evil spirit; nevertheless, he was untied and offered a large piece of cassava, which he stuffed into his mouth all at once. This confirmed the suspicion that he was still possessed.

Then Fanseni said, "My father, Padalani, who is down below, calls. Let us go to him." Followed by the others, Fanseni slid down the trail on his buttocks, grasping a stick with which he swept the trail as he went. On the way, he interpreted the call of a bird as the voice of a guru, resident in Atimelang at the time. Also, he kept insisting that his

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158 787 828 dead father was calling him. He came to a big stone and pretended to catch a rat under it. Then he broke off a piece of stick, held it near his crotch, and offered it to one of his guardians for his hungry children. The man who was the butt of this malice struck Fanseni's fingers only to have him say, "Eh, that's fine." Also, on the way down the slope Fanseni ate certain foods raw that are ordinarily cooked. A little later, without showing any signs of discomfort, he ate a raw tuber known to be extremely astringent.

158 787 828 762 Finally he reached his father's grave and there ordered the others to dig his own grave just about two yards away. This they did. He then gave them further orders, such as to fetch his shroud and eating plate and to give his bow to a cousin. All these errands he assigned one at a time in order to have people run back and forth as much as possible. Finally he adjusted his shroud and got into the grave. He got out again, however, complaining that a stone in it made him uncomfortable and asking to have it removed. He got in once more and then asked to have his food plate placed next to his body under the shroud. One of the guardians asked, "Are you finished?" Fanseni answered, "I am through, so cover me up." People began shoving in the earth and Fanseni spoke for the last time, saying, "Now I am glad. Just now it was bad. That must not be. Now it is good."

When the earth completely covered his body, Fanseni moved. In a panic the buriers fetched two large stones and hastily dropped them on him before they finished filling in the grave. The whole event naturally frightened the villagers badly. For several nights they stopped [775] up every nook and cranny of their houses to prevent Fanseni's spirit from entering and during the day frequently inspected his grave to make sure it was still undisturbed.

158 In the relative mildness of aggression and in the openly suicidal quality this case differs from three other cases of recognized insanity. It resembles the other cases in its obscenity. The suicidal quality in all [689] these four cases must be recognized, however, since an uncontrollably violent person is apt to be killed. One woman, Matingmale, was actually killed by one of the victims of her destructiveness; another was spared only because of the intercession of her kin. The fourth case, a [762] man, danced challenge in front of the government soldiers who came to avenge the murder of the radjah in 1918. Exposing one's body to bullets with only a carabao shield as protection can be interpreted only as suicidal in intent.

[787 828] All four of these instances were thought to be cases of spirit possession. If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal-

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If the dynamics make a fear about the lack of outlets for internalizing aggression is correct, and if, on the other hand, society offers means, such as wealth, to externalize aggression, self-inflicted death is not likely to be a highly developed personality trend. This alone might explain the absence of institutionalized suicide. In addition, when death may result from extranormal personality states, such as occur in delirium, coma, and insanity, it becomes clear why spirit possession is an evil and why shamanistic trances and intoxication have not been selected for social emphasis.

INSANITY

Before continuing with ideas of burial and death, it may be appropriate to develop somewhat parenthetically such other data as are available on insanity. What precisely constitutes insanity in the mind of the Atimelanger is as hard to define as it is among ourselves. The history of a "crazy" woman was given on page 107ff., and it will be recalled that essentially the charge was one of prostitution. Lakamau the Simpleton was not called crazy. There was one woman, usually fairly quiet, who seemed to have hallucinations and whose chief claim to peculiarity in the minds of local people was that she would run off alone and spend the nights hidden in the fields rather than return to the house. She was considered possessed of a spirit. She and the first woman were the only two recognized by the community as insane (*lira*). In addition there were many people whose "spirits would rise in them," which meant that they had occasional attacks of hyperexcitability and about whom one said, "They are crazy," using the term in the same loose and often good-natured fashion in which we use it.

Also available were anecdotes about four other insane people no longer living. The case of Fanseni has been quoted. The other three cases were all characterized by greater destructive vigor; all were considered spirit-possessed and their destructive attacks seem to have broken out suddenly. For instance, Matingmale had worked quietly all day weeding her sister's fields. That night she suddenly began to beat her brother-in-law. She ran off, killed pigs and chickens, broke off corn, reached into a pregnant pig and pulled out the unborn young, and made obscene advances to men. People tied her up, but she broke away and continued her destructive activities. People shot her in the shoulder, but she went on, ignoring the arrow still stuck in her flesh. She tossed a small child in the air in play and continued to kill pigs and generally frighten people. She was finally bound securely.

Her father sacrificed to the spirit supposedly possessing her, and she was normal for about two months. Then she had another outburst in which she held her child upside down by its legs from the door hatch.

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She broke off corn, put into a pippen and ate refuse with the animals, and stole rice cones from a feast. Periods of excitability alternated with periods of calm. In her last attack she went to other villages and continued her peculiar behavior. They tied her hands and sent her home, but she spent the whole night shouting and singing on the trail. The next morning she once more made sexual advances to an older man who threatened to kill her if her father did not fetch her. This sort of thing went on for four years, and the woman was finally killed while thieving in a garden. These attacks first appeared when she was about thirty-five, a year after the death of her husband. In her normal moments it was reported that she would hold her children in her arms and weep, saying, "This madness gives me much trouble."

The second woman's history and behavior are comparable. Lonmanima's attacks began by her open thieving of food when she was still an unmarried girl. She would steal eggs and sit eating them publicly. She would enter houses and snatch food from under people's eyes. At feasts she ran off with calabash serving plates full of meat. Despite these early outbursts she married and raised a family, during which time she appeared normal. Her difficulties returned when her children were grown. Her most characteristic tricks were grabbing up children and running off with them, and attacking people indiscriminately with clubs or stones. She lived with her married children. On occasion when they gave her food, she would throw it away and return her dish broken or filled with feces. She continued in this fashion until she was quite old. Finally, as an old woman, she was chased away from a field in which she had been destroying corn. As she ran she fell over a cliff and was killed. For years apparently she had had recurrences of her manic attacks during which people had threatened her with death or restrained her with bonds.

The third reported case of insanity was that of Makomasale. His first outbreak was reported to have occurred when he was a middle-aged man. He arrived in a neighboring village, singing at the top of his lungs, and, on reaching the dance place, he shouted challenges, brandished his sword, and shot arrows at people. He kept shouting that he was crazy. He annoyed the inhabitants of two or three villages in this fashion, and when people threatened to kill him and sell his head, he dared them to proceed. In addition to this type of aggressive behavior he also tried quite openly to catch young women and rape them. Whenever he was finally caught and bound, he would calm down after a time and seem very depressed. He apparently had long periods of lucidity during which he carried on his affairs in a normal and successful fashion. In his

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manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in money, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

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775 765 involves saying their names as small quantities of food are set aside for them. Death feasts are given primarily for parents or grandparents. Both feasts, which may be precipitated by illness but nevertheless give prestige, may reproduce for the individual the positive and negative emotions that cluster around child training and are reinforced by the financial organization.

SACRIFICES

782 261 The motif of sacrifice or feeding occurs over and over again, not only in relation to the dead but in relation to all supernatural beings. Feeding is the chief cultural tool for symbolizing social euphoria and for placating supernatural beings. Since the experiences of individual children with respect to hunger and disciplinary relationships vary greatly, it is to be expected that in adults also attitudes toward sacrifice will vary in the "depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy."* Mangnus begins his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, is engrossed with accounts of his gardening prowess and with details of food taboos, and finally stresses sacrifices associated with the cure of his sacred hearth. Tikopula begins the story of her childhood with tales of quarrels. She interprets subsequent anxiety ● [128] dreams as warnings that she has not placated the proper spirits, but she continues to neglect them. One man is conscientious and regular in making food sacrifices to his ramaisies, another neglects them until illness indicates that he has angered the supernaturals.

782 153 Individual childhood experiences in respect to hunger and discipline may find modes of expression in institutionalized fields, and certain institutions are reinforced because of the personal emotional content that can be directed into them. One must be careful not to use such terms as sacrifice and childhood experiences as exclusive causal sequences. It would be ludicrously anthistorical to say that childhood feeding habits gave rise to a system of sacrifice in Atimelang. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread Indonesian custom. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that obedience was expected of children, that running away was a means of avoiding disciplinary harshness, and that children conformed against their wishes only when overwhelmed by a superior force. These are the essence of most Atimelangers' attitudes toward sacrifices and death feasts. As a rule they are offered only when the external pressure is such that it seems preserving the health, prestige, or well-being of one's family.

I suggest that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long

* Quoted from Sapir, in *Language, Culture, and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941).

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night. This procedure was facilitated by the local habit of remembering and discussing dreams. However, a drawback was that I seldom heard the first version. Informants were often asked to interpret their dreams, but this was of little value for individual psychology, since there is a partially standardized system of dream interpretation in the culture. An attempt to get associations with significant words in the dream met with no great success. Most significant, perhaps, are the memories or anecdotes related immediately after the dream.

It was necessary to ask questions and to do a good deal of directing in the interviews. The degree to which I interfered is indicated by the parenthetical inclusion of the content of my questions, or, where that is obvious from the responses, by the word *Question* in brackets. Leading, as opposed to clarifying, questions were asked only when the informant seemed to be at a loss to continue. This was particularly true toward the end of a series of interviews, when the informant had begun to run

SUBJECTS OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Name	*Sex*	*Approximate Age*	*Number of Sessions*	*Sibling Position*
Mangma the Genealogist	Male	45	15	Second of nine children
Rilpada the Boar	Male	31	18	Third of five children
Maleleba the Prophet	Male	45	30	First of six children and six half brothers and sisters
Fanma the Interpreter	Male	25	10+	Youngest of three children
Tilapada	Female	45	19	Fifth of nine children
Lawani	Female	45	11	Youngest of eight sisters; father died in her infancy
Kolangballeva	Female	30	11	Second of five children
Kolmani the Seeress	Female	45	15	Youngest of two children; orphaned in infancy

down and had failed to mention certain obvious topics. A case in point is Tilapada's omission of material concerning her children. The insertion of ages where they occur is the result of inquiry rather than spontaneously given information. Usually the informant named a child and said, "When I was like So-and-so." I would then approximate the age. These estimates are naturally unreliable but they are probably better than nothing.

Another point of procedure should be mentioned. Although I did not feel sufficiently in command of the language to dispense with an interpreter, I was able to check his translations and particularly the sequence of thought.

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had a pig, but I gave it yesterday to Fuinnu. I shall follow you in a 159X
couple of days." Then they left together. In Ruulmelang, Padaboi said, "Let us divine." The divination set the feast day in seven days. Padaboi and Likuu came home carrying feast tallies [*sjoli*]. I was in the field when they returned. Likuu called me. I came and reckoned the people to whom he must give them—Fuinnu, Fuifuni, and Maliemai. I said that in seven days we must take a pig. Then I awoke.

[Meaning?] This is a true dream. This will come true. [I suspected that she was telling daily events as dreams. A pig had really been given to Fuinnu and a feast was due in Ruulmelang. I said that I wanted only true dreams. She then told the following.]

Last night I dreamed that the people of Lawatika, carrying clubs, went to seize a pig from Atukalieta of Faramaang. He did not want them to have it. They exchanged blows. Then Atukalieta got a club and hit one of the Lawatika men over the back. I took a long bamboo pole and thrust it between the fighters. I said, "You can't fight with clubs." Atukalieta got a big wound on his forehead. My husband called and told me not to stay there, that there would be a litigation and I would have to be a witness. So I stood off to one side. There was a litigation, and the chief of Atimelang said the Lawatika people were in the wrong because they shot Atukalieta's pig and wounded his head. They had to pay a fine of ten cents for the wound, and Atukalieta got the pig. They went home. I woke up.

[Were you angry or afraid?] I was afraid and stood to one side. I was angry too and wanted to fight with the Lawatika people, but my husband would not let me. He said, "People have received wounds and you will be involved in a litigation."

Last night I dreamed again that I went to Old Atimelang, and there I saw a large ravine. I flew over it and landed in a mabu tree near Lakawui. Suddenly I was in Manetari. There Maleena said, "Let us go to Manek." I said that it was far and that I had to weed my gardens at home. I came back here. When I reached the big ravine, I could not walk any more. I went on all fours because the stones were so steep. A man there said I should stand up. I did, and suddenly I flew up and landed in a mabu tree in Atimelang. I thought, "How shall I get down?" This man said, "You can get down." Then I could and I went down to Fuidong. I woke up.

[Flying?] When you sleep with your legs stretched out you can dream of flying and walking. But if you sleep with your legs bent it means you can only crawl. [513 827 828]

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X 159 He said I should return to my husband. I said that I did not wish to because he was always hitting me and that now I was searching for wealth to pay back his bride-price. Then Maikalieta [her husband's kinsman] called me to come stay with him. I did. When I went there, he and his wife left me alone in their house while they went off to live in a field house. Maikalieta's wife spoke angrily about me to her people because I did not fetch wood. People told me about this, so I fetched wood, pounded corn, and gave them to her. [Stop.]

When I was staying alone in their house, Maikalieta's wife came and carried off all their pots and possessions. I thought, "We are orphans and people leave us here alone." I ran to my uncle Fanseni, leaving all my plates and possessions behind. Then I returned here to see my elder cousin, Helangmai. Helangmai said, "You don't know how to weave baskets. You had better go cut bamboo and split it so I can weave them for you and show you how." [Stop.] I left [because I was offended] and asked Maraipada [the wife of her uncle Fanseni] for baskets, but Maraipada spoke angrily to me and told me to get my own bamboo and weave them. I cried and thought, "I am just an orphan. After all, this is not my true mother, but only my aunt." I cut and split bamboo and tried to make baskets, but they were lopsided and full of holes.

April 19, 1939

● [828] I dreamed last night, but I scratched my head and so forgot [a common belief here].

When Lakaseni [her true brother] was about sixteen or eighteen, he went to stay with a "grandmother," Kolfankalieta, who was also his Female House. He gave her a pig and some rice. People asked why he did not stay with his aunt and uncle [Maipada and his wife Kolaka]. He said, "I am staying here to dun my Female House." He stayed until they gave him a Tamamia moko. [Stop.] Then his grandmother said, "You were still small when you came to stay with us; now you are grown, so go stay with your uncles." [Stop.] Lakaseni then built a field house at Puorkaivi, and all his friends came to live with him there. [Stop.]

Likma's mother came to live with them at Puorkaivi. She made a house to stay in. Lakaseni stayed with her and Likma. There was a young man, a "grandson" of this woman, who came to stay too. He slept with this woman, even though he was just a young man. [Stop.] He stayed until she was pregnant. She used to cook and not give Likma anything. She fed only that young man. When she was ready to give

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were feeding the souls, my familiar spirit Lomani came. The dead people sent two tiny spiders, which hung down in front of me, and my familiar spirit saw them. I caught them and placed one on the hollow of my throat and one on the hollow of Lonmobi's throat. They were the souls of unborn children, and they entered our bodies. Then my familiar spirit said to Lonmobi, "You will be pregnant first, and then my mother [the informant] will be pregnant." We went to a spring and dammed up a place to make a small pool. We pounded the necessary leaves and tied them on our abdomens with vines. Then we cut the vines and let them fall into the pool. Shortly after that we were both pregnant. Lonmobi's child died. That was the time I bore Maieta [her son, now about fourteen].

April 26, 1939

Last night I dreamed that Maitama and Kolmai [his wife] went to Fungwati. As they came back over Manikameng [a ridge above the village], I saw them carrying a branch of a tree, holding it up in their hands. I asked them, "If that is areca, can we chew it?" They said, "Oh, if we hold this in our hands, our necks will get long. When we peel it, it is slippery." [The informant did not know what this meant.] When we approached their house, we saw that many people were gathered there. We looked back toward Manikameng and it was just hanging in air. [Stop.] I looked behind us and saw there were many albino rats with nice patterns in their fur. Some had no fur on their heads, so that you could see the bare skin. I said, "Those are evil rats; evil spirits are in them. Formerly we were afraid, but now the nonya is here and we are not afraid any more. We shall go tell her to bring her gun, and we shall shoot them." Then I woke up.

What shall I talk about? [I answered that she should talk of whatever entered her mind.]

I gave birth to Kolaka [her daughter, about three years old]. While she was still small, she cried all night long and would not stop. Then Lopada said, "If your child cries all the time, give her the name Kolaka and she will stop." [Stop.] I said to people, "Tell me what kind of a person my mother was. Was she light or dark? [Kolaka had very light skin.] I was still small when she died, and I did not see her." People said she had scabies. That night I dreamed that my mother sat near my feet and that she did indeed have scabies. My mother was tickling my child because she was not named after her. This was why the child cried constantly. I went to Lopada with a chicken, and she said to change the